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On the Various Ikes — New, Old and In-Between

The favorite excuse of the Eisenhower Administration for avoiding conferences at the summit is that failure to reach agreement would dishearten public opinion. Public opinion here and abroad may also be disheartened by an excessive publicity build-up of the "new Ike." The gap between Hagerty's ability as a press agent and Mr. Eisenhower's capacity as a national leader is becoming apparent in the wake of that inane TV chat between the President and the Prime Minister in London.

Public Relations Disguised as Journalism

After the invitation to Khrushchev and the announcement of the visit to England, the White House and the British Embassy set out to give Eisenhower a build-up in the British press. Leading British correspondents were called in, and given what is known as a not-for-attribution backgrounder on the President; he was portrayed both as "a new Ike" and "the old Ike" of the war period. It is unfortunate that in such cases the public does not know what the White House and the British Embassy are doing; all the public knows is that suddenly it seems to be the unanimous impression of British correspondents that there is "a new Ike" very much like "the old Ike" they loved in war-time. Thus public relations is disguised as objective reporting.

A Soldier Not A Mahomet

Obviously able newspapermen could not be sold a bill of goods if there were not some truth in it. The partial truth, not the big lie, is the effective propaganda. Mr. Eisenhower has been in better health. The death of Dulles put the President in command on foreign policy. Mr. Eisenhower is a soldier with a sober view of war, not a Messianic corporation lawyer, a Mahomet of capitalism like his late Secretary of State. The President has always thrown his weight on the side of peace; at press conference, on the eve of his departure for Europe, he spoke with an eloquence all the more touching because it was clumsy of the urgent need to search for peace. There is sufficient truth here to win British reporters who follow their government in favoring summit negotiations; wishful thinking, private conversation with "high sources"—always flattering—and the romantic haze which afflicts our profession did the rest. Imagination outran reality, and soon encountered disillusion. There followed the angry scenes at press briefings in London with Hagerty. It was hard for the press to realize that if little hard news came out of the Eisenhower-Macmillan talks it was probably because the talks never did get down to the hard facts with which negotiation must grapple. Mr. Eisenhower does not like to grapple.

Mr. Eisenhower likes to be loved. He enjoys the cheering crowds and the waving flags. They remind him of his great-

est days during the war. He knows he means well, and believes he deserves popular affection. And so he does. But men do not change their character. The "new Ike" like "the old Ike" and the Ike in-between all share one characteristic. They don't like to be bothered with details. They like to save their strength for ceremonial occasions, and the private little dinners at which personal charm can smooth over difficulties. This was enough in war-time when huge staffs and military machines worked under him toward the one end of victory. It will not be enough in the search for peace.

Now They Work Against Eisenhower

Today the situation is quite different. The huge machine at whose wheel Ike sits is geared for war, not peace. Most of its expenditures, most of its energy, goes into preparation for war, and above all the preparation of the public mind for war. Able and energetic men all around him are geared toward the war tasks. It is not that they want war, but their job is to prepare for it, and to get the best possible weapons. When the President goes out in search of peace, there is no machine behind him, no staff around him, geared to this purpose. On the contrary, all around him are men, at the AEC, in the Pentagon, at CIA, in the State Department, quick to distort and exaggerate every border skirmish from the Himalayas to Laos, in order to poison the public mind against the very search for peace on which the President is engaged.

There May Be Rough Weather Ahead

In such a context we must be grateful that at the head of state at least there sits a man who is not a pyromaniac. But in the interests of clear thinking it is important to see the divergence between the President and his own bureaucracy. The burdens of the Presidency are so immense and various today as to bow down even a gay genius like FDR. Ike is not a genius. And peace will not be won by platitudes.

Mr. Eisenhower for example really seems to think—and in this is as simple-minded as some on the other side—that "peace with justice" is a firm diplomatic yardstick. But "justice" is not attainable in the tangled disputes that have set men fighting in Europe for centuries; no IBM machine can determine with just accuracy where the frontier should be between Poles and Germans, Ukrainians and Poles. All we can hope for is to establish a world order stable enough and roughly fair enough to satisfy the aspirations and allay the fears on both sides. This is job of compromise and negotiation which requires work and entails risk. Mr. Eisenhower has little taste for either, and may easily be deflected by craftier men who want no settlement. So we must be prepared for disheartening ups-and-downs in that search for peace on which human survival now depends.

AEC Using the Joint Committee to Undercut The Public Health Service

A Glimpse of Intra-Administration Intrigue Over Radiation Hazards

Last winter there was an outburst of criticism over the AEC's lack of candor in dealing with the dangers of radioactivity. In March, a National Advisory Committee on Radiation appointed by the Surgeon General warned that the U. S. lacked any comprehensive program for protecting the public against radiation hazards. The committee, under the respected chairmanship of Dr. Russell H. Morgan, Professor of Radiology at Johns Hopkins, expressed the opinion that it was unwise to leave the regulation of these dangers to an agency like the AEC which was itself engaged in operating reactors and making weapons tests. The committee recommended legislation charging the U. S. Public Health Service with responsibility for promulgating "uniform national standards on radiation protection." A bill (S. 1628) embodying these recommendations was introduced by Senator Hill of Alabama but after two days of hearings before the Senate Labor and Welfare Committee he did little to push it. Opposition was centered in the AEC with its military and industrial allies, the latter fearful of the higher costs in stricter safety standards.

How Discussion Was Tamped Down

The opening maneuver was to get the White House to order Administration officials not to discuss the Hill bill while the Budget Bureau studied the question. This gagged the Public Health Service which favored the bill. Nothing happened until August 14, when opponents seemed to have held any change to a weak compromise. On that date the President established a Federal Radiation Council of four men—the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, the chairman of the AEC, the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of Commerce.

The duties of this council fell far short of the clear mandate in the Hill bill. These duties, as set forth in the bureaucratic gibberish of the executive order, were to advise the President—

"with respect to radiation matters directly or indirectly affecting health, including matters pertinent to the general guidance of executive agencies by the President with respect to the development by such agencies of criteria for the protection of humans against ionizing radiation applicable to the affairs of the respective agencies."

The day the order was released AEC Chairman McCone underscored its vagueness by rushing into print with a statement that "radiological health and safety questions" would continue to be "a primary concern" of the AEC.

But on August 22, McCone suffered a defeat. On that day, in naming the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare as chairman of the new Radiation Council, the President went beyond the executive order and gave HEW "primary responsibility . . . for the collation, analysis and interpretation of data on environmental radiation levels such as natural background, radiography, medical and industrial use of isotopes and X-rays, and fall-out, so that the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare may advise the President and the general public." This was a mandate to pass independently on fallout and to report to the public as well as the President.

Secretary Flemming followed this up on August 26 with a press conference at which he released a new departmental directive on radiation health. This disclosed that the Bureau

of the Budget had recommended the vesting of primary responsibility in HEW. The most important part of the directive was its instruction to the Public Health Service to develop "operating standards or recommendations to achieve acceptable levels of exposure from air, water and milk, medical procedures and the general environment." This was the first step toward Federal radiation health standards to replace the purely permissive recommendations of the National Committee on Radiological Protection, a private body on which industrial interests but not labor are strongly represented.

McCone Tries to Circumvent the White House

In the meantime McCone had gone into action. The President's executive order, establishing a four-man Radiation Council, was issued on a Friday. On Monday, McCone went to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. By Wednesday the 19th Senator Anderson had been persuaded to introduce a new version of a pending Administration bill (S. 1987) with respect to atomic cooperation with the States. Into this had been inserted a new section establishing a 9-man Federal Radiation Council instead of that set up by the President.

The Anderson bill specified the addition to the council of the Secretary of Labor, the Chairman of the National Academy of Sciences, the Chairman of the National Committee on Radiation Protection "and two members appointed by the President," one to be "a qualified expert in the field of biology and medicine and one in the field of health physics." This offered the hope that the AEC could pack the new Council with a majority since both the National Academy and the NCRP are AEC allies. The "qualified expert in the field of biology and medicine" might be Dr. Shields Warren or some facsimile securely in the AEC's orbit. This bill was reported out on August 27. Secretary Flemming asked for reconsideration in a letter to Anderson on the 28th. When the Joint Committee met on August 31, it approved a favorable report on the bill but revised the section on the Radiation Council, leaving in—of the proposed additions—only the Secretary of Labor and substituting "and such other members" as the President shall choose.

Anderson Critical Last March But Now Wavers

We cannot understand the wavering position of Senator Anderson. Holifield has so clearly gone over to the AEC's side that his constant belittling of proposals for a shift to the Public Health Service are not surprising. But Anderson last March was criticizing the AEC for hiding the facts on fallout and agreeing with Dr. Russell Morgan on the need for putting radiation control in the Public Health Service. The new Anderson bill (S. 2568) which the Joint Committee is rushing toward passage, could strengthen the AEC's position in the field of radiation hazards and pave the way for relinquishing controls at least in part to the States. It reflects the industry "states rights" point of view. To rush the bill to the floor before earlier hearings on this question have even been printed is to force members of Congress to vote in the dark on a complex problem. The effect will be to sidetrack the Hill bill, which one would have expected Anderson to support, and may enable the AEC to undermine the new authority given HEW and the Public Health Service by the President.

Press Largely Ignores 5th Pugwash Conference Warnings Against Germ and Chemical War**UN Commission Proposed to Protect World from Jitters Over CBR**

In his welcoming address at the opening of the Pugwash Conference on Biological and Chemical Warfare, Cyrus Eaton said it was inconceivable to him that "a nation nurtured in such high moral standards" as the United States "and so strongly dedicated to the alleviation of human suffering, should even for a moment consider embarking upon a lunatic campaign to ravage and destroy defenseless women and children with monstrous disease."

The fact is, however, that the U. S. Army Chemical Warfare Service has embarked on a campaign to sell the idea that chemical and bacteriological weapons offer a more humane (and less expensive) form of warfare. The newspapers which open their pages to this military propaganda almost entirely ignored the meeting at Pugwash, Nova Scotia, where 26 scientists from eight nations of East and West met from August 24 to 29 to warn against these new techniques of extermination. During a period in which any mysterious movement in the bushes of Laos made scare headlines in the U. S. press, no space seemed available for the sober discussions at Pugwash. Indeed like other meetings to warn against the dangers of war, it was regarded as "controversial," not quite respectable and perhaps even a little subversive.

How to Freshen Your Nightmares

We think the campaign to convince the American people that germ warfare is humane will fall as flat as the similar campaign about clean and humane thermonuclear bombs. Though the military have means of mass communication at their disposal, the public is not that gullible. But the fight cannot be won without counter-measures, and we hope that for this purpose Mr. Eaton may publish the proceedings at Pugwash for general distribution. In the meantime, those who cannot obtain the speeches and resolutions against CBR (chemical, biological and radiological) warfare may do just as well by reading the testimony of those who favor it. The House Science Committee released a report on CBR August 10 (House Report No. 815) and has available printed copies

Another Form of Human Suicide

"The ideologists of biological warfare see advantages in the negligible cost of producing a microbial weapon and in its ability to crush the resistance of an enemy without destroying the economy of the country. Biological warfare is directed mainly against the life of the peaceful population and against the sources of food (livestock and crops); it does not destroy buildings and machines and is therefore regarded by its military adherents as the best method of capturing territory freed of its population. . . . The specialists in bacteriological war strive to sow despair and horror and to plunge the peoples of this earth into the Dark Ages with their terrible epidemics of plague, smallpox and cholera. They forget that biological war, like atomic war, is suicide. . . . It is no accident that even Hitler and his criminal generals did not dare begin a biological war, for they were well aware that the danger cuts both ways."

—Prof. A. A. Smorodintsev (Soviet Union) at the Pugwash Conference, Aug. 26.

of its hearings. They will freshen your nightmares.

Germ and chemical warfare is being oversold in the Sunday supplements. It may always remain too unpredictable in its effects, too difficult to "distribute" and too likely to recoil on its users. But the chemical warfare corps by its very campaign adds to the sum total of fear, hatred and suspicion.

"The most hopeful approach to international regulation," the Pugwash conference said in its concluding statement, "seems to comprise (a) a general agreement to prohibit the use of such weapons, and (b) the renunciation of official secrecy and security controls over microbiological, toxicological, pharmaceutical and chemical-biologic research."

The conference proposed that the United Nations set up a permanent commission on biological and chemical warfare which "could help to dispel apprehension," among other things by investigating "impartially the claims by plaintiff nations that others had openly or surreptitiously used methods of biological or chemical warfare against them."

Bertrand Russell Comments Ironically on the Humane Excuses for Horrible Weapons

"It is a general feature of the progress of science and technology that it makes easier both living and dying; it brings about an improvement of means of production and a lowering of prices of commodities, but it also lowers the price of death.

"In the last war the cost of killing one person by military weapons amounted on the average to some thousands of pounds. After the development of the atom bomb, the cost of extermination fell to a few pounds per head; the hydrogen bomb has brought it down much further and the cost is now reckoned in pennies. And now we are told that killing by means of biological weapons may be even cheaper.

"This may be true or not, but it is a fact that a great deal of research has been going on in utmost secrecy on the development of biological and chemical weapons, and that many attempts have been made to justify the use of such weapons. In a speech I made at Vienna after the Kitzbuhel Conference, I said that should a sudden outbreak of rabies occur, say in Berlin, it would be absurd to think that the Eastern and Western authorities would not instantly combine to find measures of extirpating the mad dogs.

—From the Opening Address Sent by Earl Russell to the Fifth Pugwash Conference, August 24.

However, after reading the statements which have recently been made by some generals, I am not so sure about this.

"General Creasy, the retired head of the U. S. Army's Chemical Warfare Service, has been reported to have advocated before a Congressional Committee to put chemical and biological warfare in the same category as the atom bomb. He is reported to have said, 'We would use them as we damn well see fit in the interests of the United States and its allies,' and he went on to justify these weapons as humane. It is curious that the advocates of the most horrible weapons of mass destruction always appear to be motivated by merciful reasons. Admiral Strauss, when Chairman of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission, referred to the 'clean' hydrogen bomb as the 'humanitarian bomb.'

"It is, of course, a matter of great regret that science—particularly medical and biological science—should be debased and developed in a spirit contrary to everything it stands for. It is even more distressing that a situation should have developed in which scientists find it possible and indeed desirable to pursue such research."

After Months of Investigation, Calif. School Boards Offered Only Names

How House Un-Americans Backed Down When Asked for Evidence

When the House Un-American Activities Committee first postponed its teacher hearings in California early last June, Chairman Walter said this was because "the ramifications of the Communist operation in California are so extensive and malignant that additional investigative work must be done."

Now almost three months later Chairman Walter has decided not to hold hearings but instead to pass on his information for action by local school boards in California. It appears that after all these weeks of supposedly intensive investigation, the school boards will not get much to work on.

One Way to Take A Run-Out Powder

In Walter's letter of August 21 to Arthur Corey of the California Teachers Association, announcing abandonment of the thrice postponed hearings, the Chairman said he was instructing the Committee staff to turn over the names of teachers "and in cases in which information respecting the persons subpoenaed can be disclosed without jeopardizing sources of information or security procedures, to make such information available in confidence. I am advised, however," he added, "that most of the names reflect information which could not, because of the foregoing, be made available to the boards."

This will put the school boards in an impossible situation. It means that in most cases the boards will get only the names of suspected teachers, and will not be given concrete charges against them even in confidence.

Walter suggests that the teachers "be interrogated by such boards which would then transmit to the Committee a copy of the transcript of the proceedings." How does the board interrogate a teacher without knowing why he was subpoenaed by the Committee? How does a teacher answer "charges" without knowing what they are?

Of course, the board can always ask general questions. Q. Are you a Communist? A. No. Q. Sure? A. Yes. Q. Well, if you're not a Communist or some other kind of subversive, why did the House Committee subpoena you? A. I don't know. Why don't you ask the Committee? Q. The Committee says it cannot tell us why "without jeopardizing sources

of information or security procedures." A. Well, what do you want me to do? Subpoena Walter?

Corey's letter to Walter, weak as it was, contained a challenge. It pointed out that California teachers are required to take two separate loyalty oaths. "If there is evidence," Corey wrote, "that teachers have perjured themselves in signing these oaths, this information should be turned over to state officials responsible for prosecuting offenders and for revoking teacher certificates." By subpoenaing 110 teachers, Walter implied that he had reason to doubt their loyalty. But he backs away when challenged to produce the evidence.

Walter's excuse, that to do so would jeopardize his sources of information, would not save him—if he did not have Congressional immunity—from suit for damages to the reputation of these teachers. If a district attorney thought a crime had been committed, even Congressional immunity would not save Walter from being brought before a grand jury and forced to testify. All this talk of protecting sources is a confession that Walter has nothing but scuttlebutt to back his attack on the teachers.

There Seems to Be Nothing to Hide

The trouble with the suit brought by the American Civil Liberties Union in Southern California to enjoin the committee from passing on names to the school boards is not only that the precedents are against enjoining a Congressional committee but also that the action implies the teachers are trying desperately to keep information from the school boards.

The fact is that the Committee is out on a limb. Can anyone doubt that it would be only too glad to supply the evidence, if it had any, which could be used to send some teacher to jail for perjury?

We suggest that the teachers take the offensive, that they make the California affair a case study in the smear-and-run procedures of the Committee, that they embody this study in a formal complaint to the Speaker of the House and make it public as an indictment of the Committee. Walter's tricky retreat is as unfair to the school boards as to the teachers.

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